We The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
● 186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the
124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

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[585] [565] [784] [614] [286] exactly the same rites and all moves are the same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas' word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 ●186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 173 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the gemeenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five siblings from Java. He agreed that every area had [186] its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 361 Then I checked the place of origin of the suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawotonda there are stones and cannon. But the [778] [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

484 day at a time. Some people here go to the mountains, but they never go very far. Almost none has ever left the district, and those who have did so seldom and perhaps only once, for example to Nggobe or to another nearby area. Only the [625] police have been to Ngada or other Flores areas. And there are only two policemen.

[169] There are no soldiers here. No one here has ever left Indonesia.

[443] There are no regular traders in the kampong. One could say that there are no regular trips made to the outside.

Those few who have been outside of Roworeke relate, on their return, that other places are completely different from Roworeke. How true this is! They are not specific, however.

[178] There has been little change in the very non-moving character of the people here. They just know so little that they never think about leaving.

People here who have never seen any other place than Roworeke and Ende, i.e., just the [162] road to town and back, number about two hundred and fifty, that is about fifty per cent of the population. For example, these people have never seen even Rukuramba. This is especially true of the old people, although all except the children have seen Ende. Trips to Ende are not frequent. This is perhaps the most completely non-moving place I have seen yet.

484 152 ● 186 Reasons given for not moving or visiting or traveling outside of this immediate vicinity are that there is too much work in the kampong for people to leave at any time. And formerly, there was a strong fear of war and a general fear of anyplace except home. There was never any reason to leave the area, but if one wanted to there was no objection. Aside from the war danger in former times (especially did Roworeke fight against Nggobe and Rodja), the old folk

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484 are afraid to sleep outside, even today. They
152 fear evil spirits (they say setan) of the out-
86 side. This is a real and vivid fear to them.
[776]

Roworeke does not have a telephone, telegraph
20 or radio. Mail is brought by people who happen to go to Ende, and letters are mailed by the same means. A letter is first sent by the Post Office to the office of the Radja. It may take a long time to get here.

There is a gong used for signaling (it is located near the kapitan's house) on the occasions of the death of a noble, a tax meeting, and the like. News is spread fast by rumor, and the gossip here is uncanny. Everyone in the area knew when the kapitan went with us to Kilimutu.

There are no "local authorities" on the news front. The only people who would approach this are the two police. News bulletins from the Information Service are practically never delivered here. Such things simply do not get this far. There are no traders who give news.

443 There are markets and there is a market system. The district markets are located at:

1.	Kilometer 14.	An empty place, merely. (Friday)	
2.	Kilometer 24.	The same thing.	(Saturday)
3.	Kilometer 33.	In Lio	(Monday)
4.	Kilometer 52.	In Lio.	(Tuesday)
5.	Kilometer 66.	Wolowaru. Lio.	(Wednesday?)

Thus there is a circuit, and the Ende traders (papalele) go by truck, day by day, up to the mountains and then down to the start and then over again. Sunday is evidently out (Christian influence, evidently). These traders make little
[563] money as they are mere tools of the Chinese who
[426] lend to them at high rates or merely pay them salaries, or let them buy and sell on a commission basis.

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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

●186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

000 R story.

829 People here all know the arrangement of the
186 kampong, and maybe thirty per cent know the general arrangement of the kampongs in Rewarangga. Perhaps only five per cent know the general arrangement of Flores. They have heard of the radjas, but they know little about where they come from. For example, it is not known where Sikka is or what kind of a place it is. Perhaps only one per cent know very much about the arrangement of Indonesia, geographically. These are the ones who went to the Ndona normal school. Practically nothing is known of world geography. They know at least the names of Japan, Holland (the assistant thought that Holland was the second or third largest country in the world!), the United States, Australia, China. India was a bit beyond their ken, and they knew nothing of other countries. Perhaps they know something about or have heard the name of Russia a bit. They have also heard of Rome and Jerusalem.

They have no ideas about the population of Indonesia. This includes the guru, the assistant, and the kapitan.

People here simply like their own kampong and their own district. They have developed no local chauvinism and it simply does not exist. However, they scorn the mountaineer population of Lio. They do look down on them a bit. They say that they have never seen the big town. They know practically nothing about other tribes in Flores anyway. They also have a bit of scorn
[518] for the mountain people in Rewarangga. There seems to be no feeling of enmity toward any other place, tribe, or Indonesian folk of any kind. There is no dissatisfaction evident in the village.

829 No one could draw a good map of the kampong, even though they know the arrangement. The

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 ●186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

Wa.

694 231 This was not so. They were merely a kind of fine for committing the wrong, and the animals were all those of the groom. Both parties give animals at the wedding feast.

665 181 There are no political parties here, not even internal factions. At any given time they may have a kind of loose lineup on an issue, but this is purely ephemeral. There is not even enough issue feeling to have meetings on any subject. Roy keeps saying that the folk here are stupid, and when it comes to politics they are youngsters. This is an illustration of the prevailing habit in East Indonesia of running themselves down. This may be a form of politeness or modesty or a real feeling of self-disparagement learned through many years of subjection to the radjas and to the Dutch.

462 562 No posts are held by women. This adat. Women are household managers, and work on clothing, food cooking, and the arranging of marriages (or at least advising the men on how to arrange good marriages). They also hold the positions in ritual of nu'a luka and tuno wudjo. If there is a discussion taking place in a house, for example, a group of lads sitting about and talking on political topics (at this level), etc., the women of the house may join in a bit. This is all. However, I don't get the impression that women are suppressed here at all.

•186 In the old days, the local people were very proud of Larantuka, and they remember now that Larantuka alone, in all Flores, remained independent when the rest was under Bima. Larantuka was free, and as Roy says, "It bordered on Bima." As for feelings in regard to other radjadoms in Flores, there seems to be no rivalry or enmity. They have not come up enough to do as the people in Ambon do, and say that Flores is the "forgotten island." They do not yet know enough to complain about their share in the Indonesian government.

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186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

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763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

● 186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took
515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

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683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

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829 all, have heard of Holland and Japan. Beyond these very little is known. Many people know the word America. Wilcox[1] was here recently and then they heard of England. But these are just names. The gurus in Tjantjar know a bit about the outside world.

Nothing is known about the population figures of Indonesia or even for Flores. The school level is too low for even children to know these things. The assistant, however, knows the population of Indonesia, and of the world (exact! two billion!). He knew that there were four hundred and fifty million people in China too! But he did not know about India or the rest of the countries. He was surprised that Holland was so small.

●186 Formerly, in the wartime, there was a great feeling for the kampong, but no real thought in regard to patriotism. They like their place and their adat. They dislike Ngada. They say that the people in Ngada kill, are coarse, etc. They don't like Ende, Larantuka, Sikka, etc. They simply do not like the adat from other areas. This is the main point. They hate Bima, and have vivid memories in this regard. Formerly there was no criticism of the Dutch, but now they are getting onto colonialism a bit in retrospect. However, there is no real thought on these things. They know that the Chinese are tipu orang (crooks). They consider Arabs as better people; in fact, they are O.K. They are rich. They have no knowledge about other people.

166 There are kampongs which are declining in population and seem not to amount to much, but the people stay there because it is their kampong. They simply do not move unless they decide their naga is no good.

764 A dead person must be taken back to the home kampong for burial unless (1) it is too far or impossible, or (2) they are already established

[1] i.e., author of "White Stranger, Six Moons in the Celebes", London, 1949 - Analyst